

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9660

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OSLO NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 0595

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: CONTACT GROUP BRIEFING OF NORDIC MISSIONS TO UN

REF: A) USUN 570(NOTAL); B) MILLER (USUN)/NILES (IO/UNP)
TELECON 2/17

1. SUMMARY: CONTACT GROUP BRIEFED REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE NORDIC MISSIONS TO THE UN FEB 15 ON THE OUTCOME OF THE
PROXIMITY TALKS. NORDICS HAD REQUESTED BRIEFING SO THAT
THEY WOULD BE INFORMED ON TALKS WHEN THEY HOSTED LUNCHEON
FOR SWAPO DELEGATION LATER IN THE DAY. NORDICS CONTINUED
TO EXPRESS PARTICULAR INTEREST IN THE UN MILITARY PRESENCE
AND IN OUR NEXT STEPS BUT SAID NOTHING TO LEAD ONE TO SUSPECT
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THAT THEY HAD MADE OR WOULD MAKE ANY EFFORT TO INFLUENCE
SWAPO. SWAPO PRESIDENT NUJOMA WILL BE TRAVELING TO STOCKHOLM,
OSLO, AND HELSINKI DURING WEEK OF FEB 20. IN VIEW OF
BRIEFING OF NORDIC UN MISSIONS AND NORDIC RELUCTANCE TO
ASSIST WESTERN FIVE INITIATIVE AT THIS STAGE, CONTACT
GROUP FEELS THAT NO BRIEFINGS NEED BE MADE IN THOSE
CAPITALS PRIOR TO NUJOMA'S ARRIVAL. DEPT (REF B) AND

USUN BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IF EMBASSIES STOCKHOLM, OSLO OR HELSINKI FEEL THAT BRIEFING OF HOST GOVT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS, THEY MAY PROVIDE BRIEFINGS UNILATERALLY ON BASIS OF PARA 3 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

2. CONTACT GROUP BRIEFED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NORDIC MISSIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AM FEB 15 ON THE OUTCOME OF THE PROXIMITY TALKS. INCLUDED AMONG THE NORDIC REPRESENTATIVES WERE THE PERMREPS OF FINLAND, ICELAND AND SWEDEN. THE BRIEFING HAD BEEN REQUESTED BY THE NORDICS IN ORDER THAT THEY MIGHT BE INFORMED ON THE TALKS PRIOR TO HOSTING A LUNCHEON FOR THE SWAPO DELEGATION.

3. MCHENRY BEGAN BY SAYING THAT ON FEB 11 AND 12 THE WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD JOINTLY HELD CONCURRENT TALKS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF SWAPO (PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA), SOUTH AFRICA (FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA), THE UNITED NATIONS (SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM), AND FIVE OTHER NAMIBIAN POLITICAL GROUPS. MCHENRY EXPLAINED THAT THE TALKS HAD PRODUCED A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCERNS OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES AND HAD PRODUCED SOME PROGRESS ON THE PART OF BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA. HE THEN IDENTIFIED A NUMBER OF THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND DISCUSSED DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING THEM WHICH OCCURRED DURING THE TALKS:

A) SECURITY. SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN
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POSITION OF LAST DECEMBER THAT A MINIMUM OF THREE THOUSAND SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, STATIONED AT EIGHT LOCATIONS, MUST REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. SWAPO, ON THE OTHER HAND, CHANGED FROM INSISTING THAT ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS MUST BE REMOVED BEFORE THE START OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN TO AGREEING THAT A RESIDUAL FORCE OF 1500 (INCLUDING ANY FORCES IN WALVIS BAY) COULD REMAIN THROUGH THE CAMPAIGN BUT ONLY IF THEY ARE MONITORED AND CONFINED TO BASE AT KARASBURG IN SOUTHERN NAMIBIA. THE FIVE TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROPOSAL WAS UNACCEPTABLE AND THAT WE STOOD BY OUR PROPOSAL. WE MADE IT CLEAR TO SWAPO THAT STATIONING THE FORCES AT KARASBURG WAS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT DEPRIVED SOUTH AFRICA OF A NECESSARY FACE-SAVING ELEMENT.

B) THE SIZE OF THE UN MILITARY PRESENCE. HERE SOUTH AFRICA INDICATED SOME WILLINGNESS TO LEAVE THE SIZE UP TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL PROVIDED THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL CONSULTED THEM ON THE MATTER. SWAPO'S POSITION VARIED BETWEEN INSISTING THAT A FIGURE OF 5000 BE INCLUDED IN THE PROPOSAL AND AGREEING THAT THE FIGURE COULD BE LEFT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THE FIVE UNDERTOOK TO SUPPORT WHATEVER DECISION THE SECRETARY GENERAL MAKES AND THUS SOUGHT TO

ALLEVIATE SWAPO FEARS THAT THE FIVE MIGHT LATER OPPOSE
A LARGE FIGURE ON BUDGETARY GROUNDS. AT THE END OF THE
TALKS SWAPO APPEARED TO HAVE AGREED TO LEAVE THE DECISION
TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, BUT SWAPO'S POSITION WAS STILL
NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9661
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI NIACT IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USUN 0595

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

C) WALVIS BAY. NEITHER SIDE LIKED THE LANGUAGE
CONTAINED IN PARA 11 OF THE PROPOSAL. OUR EFFORT IN THAT
PARA WAS SIMPLY TO PUT THE ISSUE ASIDE. SWAPO CONTINUED
TO INSIST THAT WALVIS BAY IS PART OF NAMIBIA AND ADDED THAT
WALVIS BAY MUST BE INCLUDED IN ANY SETTLEMENT. SOUTH AFRICA
MADE CLEAR THEIR POSITION THAT WALVIS BAY BELONGS TO THEM
AND THAT THEY HAVE NO INTENTION OF COMPROMISING ON IT. SOUTH
AFRICA AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO ENTER INTO
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NEW GOVT OF NAMIBIA ON THE FUTURE OF WALVIS
BAY. WE TOOK THE POSITION THAT THE MATTER OF WALVIS BAY CANNOT
BE RESOLVED NOW AND MUST, THEREFORE, BE PUT ASIDE WITHOUT
PREJUDICE. WE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT SOME PRACTICAL MATTERS
INVOLVING WALVIS BAY COULD BE INCLUDED IN A SETTLEMENT:
1) THE NUMBER OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN WALVIS BAY COULD

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NOT BE INCREASED (WE ESTIMATE THAT NUMBER NOW TO BE 1500); AND 2) PROVISION WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE FOR NAMIBIANS IN WALVIS BAY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

D) POLITICAL PRISONERS. SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HELD BY THEM AND THE RELEASE OF THOSE DETAINED IN TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA. SWAPO CONTINUED TO REJECT THE SUGGESTION OF ANY LINKAGE AND TO CLAIM THAT THEY HOLD NO ONE IN ZAMBIA. HOWEVER, IN A CHANGE OF POSITION, SWAPO INDICATED THAT THEY ARE "WILLING TO CONSIDER" RELEASE OF THOSE SWAPO MEMBERS HELD IN TANZANIA. THE GROUP PROBED THEM FURTHER AND BELIEVE THAT THIS LANGUAGE INDICATES THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO RELEASE THEM. GROUP CONTINUED TO REJECT ANY SUGGESTION OF LINKAGE BUT TO INSIST THAT ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS/DETAINEES WHEREVER HELD MUST BE FREE TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

E) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. WHAT WE HAVE PROPOSED IS A BALANCED WORKING RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH THE ACTUAL ADMINISTRATION IS CARRIED OUT BY THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL (AG) BUT IN WHICH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE (SR) MUST BE SATISFIED WITH ALL ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. SOUTH AFRICA SEEMED PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS ARRANGEMENT. SWAPO, HOWEVER, HAS GONE BACK ON ITS EARLIER STATEMENTS AND NOW INSISTS THAT THE SR MUST BE CLEARLY DOMINANT OVER THE AG. THUS WE ARE STILL WRESTLING WITH THE STRUCTURE AND DESCRIPTION OF THIS RELATIONSHIP.

F) ON A VARIETY OF OTHER ISSUES THERE WAS DISCUSSION, PARTICULARLY ON LANGUAGE, AND THERE WAS GENERAL FLEXIBILITY.

4. FOLLOWING AMB MCHENRY'S REMARKS, AMB PASTINEN (FINLAND), SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE NORDICS, THANKED THE
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GROUP FOR THE BRIEFING AND CONFIRMED THE NORDICS' "VERY STRONG INTEREST IN A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT" AND THEIR PLEDGE TO DO ALL THEY CAN TO ADVANCE THAT EFFORT. HE ALSO REFERRED TO THEIR "UNDERSTANDABLE RELUCTANCE" TO TAKE A STAND ON THE SUBSTANTIVE POINTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE NORDIC REPS ASKED FOR ELABORATION ON CERTAIN POINTS DISCUSSED ABOVE AND THEN FOCUSED DISCUSSION ON THE SIZE OF THE UN MILITARY PRESENCE AND ON THE CONTACT GROUP'S NEXT STEPS. SWEDISH AMB THUNBORG

WAS MOST CONCERNED ABOUT THE UN MILITARY PRESENCE. HE STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE POLITICAL REASONS FOR AVOIDING MENTION IN THE PROPOSAL OF AN EXACT FIGURE FOR THE SIZE OF THE UN FORCE, BUT HE EXPRESSED HIS VIEW THAT THE ROLE OF THE UN SHOULD BE SPELLED OUT IN GREATER DETAIL TO PROVIDE SWAPO WITH NEEDED ASSURANCE OF THE EXTENT AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN PRESENCE. THUNBORG ADDED THAT SWAPO KNOWS NOTHING ABOUT UN PEACEKEEPING. MCHENRY EXPRESSED THE GROUP'S SIMILAR CONCERN FOR SWAPO'S LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF UN PEACEKEEPING AND EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD ARRANGED FOR UN UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL URQUHART (ONE OF THE UN'S LEADING EXPERTS ON PEACEKEEPING) TO BE AVAILABLE TO DISCUSS WITH SWAPO THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF UN PEACEKEEPING AND ITS MECHANICS. SWAPO, HOWEVER, DECLINED TO MEET WITH URQUHART.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 0595

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

CANADIAN MISSION OFFICER ADDED HER BELIEF THAT THE ROLE OF THE UN IS ALREADY WELL SPELLED OUT IN THE PROPOSAL AND HER VIEW THAT, IF SWAPO WERE TO MEET WITH URQUHART, THEY WOULD ALSO SEE THAT THE FUNCTIONAL AND LOGISTICAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE UN'S TASK

WILL CLEARLY NECESSITATE A UN FORCE OF THE SIZE THAT SWAPO DESIRES. ON THE QUESTION OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S NEXT STEPS, THE GROUP STATED THAT WE HAD NOT DECIDED WHAT OUR NEXT STEPS WOULD BE EXCEPT THAT IN THE NEXT DAY OR SO WE WOULD BE PRESENTING TO SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA SOME CLARIFYING LANGUAGE WHICH WE HOPED MIGHT RESOLVE A NUMBER OF ISSUES (INCLUDING AMONG OTHER THINGS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE AG AND SR, RESTRICTIONS ON THE POLICE, AND THE ASSURANCE THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SR EXTENDS TO LOCAL TRIBAL GOVTS). WE WOULD HOPE FOR RESPONSES ON THIS LANGUAGE BY

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THE END OF THE WEEK AND WOULD THEN CONSIDER OUR NEXT STEPS. IN CONCLUDING, MCHENRY NOTED THE CONTAINED URGENCY OF ACHIEVING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. HE DESCRIBED THE GREAT PRESSURE WHICH SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA IS UNDER FROM THE RIGHT-WING IN HIS COUNTRY. HE NOTED THAT WHILE BOTHA HAS RECENTLY GONE TO LENGTHS TO INDICATE THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE STILL GOING ON, THERE IS A VERY REAL CONCERN THAT SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT SOON TAKE ACTION ON AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.

5. BRITISH HAVE SINCE BEEN INFORMED BY THE NORWEGIANS THAT DURING THE SUBSEQUENT NORDIC LUNCH FOR SWAPO THE NORDICS HAD PUSHED SWAPO HARD TO LEAVE ASIDE THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY AND THAT SWAPO HAD SAID THAT IN THE END THEY COULD PROBABLY ACCEPT THE SIMPLE DELETION OF PARA 11. NORWEGIANS ALSO SAID THAT IN NUJOMA'S UPCOMING TRIP TO OSLO (SEE PARA 7 BELOW) THE NORWEGIANS WOULD MAKE KNOWN THEIR FAVORABLE VIEW OF THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL.

6. CONTACT GROUP MET WITH SAM NUJOMA FEB 16 (ONE DAY AFTER THE BRIEFING) TO DISCUSS INFORMALLY THE CLARIFYING LANGUAGE DEVISED FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION IN THE PROPOSAL (REFTEL). NUJOMA WAS UNYIELDING ON THE LANGUAGE PRESENTED. HE INSISTED THAT THE SR BE CLEARLY DOMINANT OVER THE AG, AND HE REQUIRED THAT AN EXACT FIGURE FOR THE SIZE OF THE UN MILITARY PRESENCE BE INCLUDED IN THE PROPOSAL AND SUGGESTED THE FIGURE OF FIVE THOUSAND.

7. SAM NUJOMA AND FOUR OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SWAPO DELEGATION LEFT NEW YORK FEB 17 HEADING FOR SCANDINAVIA. THEIR PLANS CALL FOR THEM TO BE IN STOCKHOLM ON FEB 20-21, OSLO ON FEB 22, AND HELSINKI ON THE 23RD AND 24TH. IN LIGHT OF THE BRIEFING GIVEN THE NORDIC UN MISSIONS, CONTACT GROUP

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DOES NOT FEEL THAT ANY FORMAL BRIEFINGS NEED TO GIVEN IN STOCKHOLM, OSLO, AND HELSINKI PRIOR TO NUJOMA'S ARRIVAL THERE. NEVERTHELESS, IF AMEMBASSIES IN THOSE CAPITALS BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS PRIOR TO NUJOMA'S ARRIVAL, DEPT (REF B) AND USUN SUGGEST YOU DO SO UNILATERALLY ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION CONTAINED IN PARA 3 ABOVE. COMMENT: WE DOUBT THAT THE NORDICS WILL GO BEYOND THEIR CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO SWAPO. BUT IF THE OCCASION SHOULD ARISE, NORDICS SHOULD BE TOLD THAT THE TIME TO INFLUENCE SWAPO TOWARD A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IS NOW. SWAPO IS UNLIKELY TO COME AROUND SO LONG AS THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE TACIT SUPPORT. END COMMENT.

9. REMAINDER OF SWAPO DELEGATION HAS LEFT NEW YORK OR WILL BE LEAVING SHORTLY BUT WILL NOT BE TRAVELLING TO SCANDINAVIA.
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